# In Good Hands

A Portrait of State Apprenticeship Programs in the Folk & Traditional Arts, 1983-1995

by Susan Auerbach

1996 NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

Cover: Maine Indian brown ash basket.

Photo by Cedric Chatterley, courtesy Maine Arts Commission

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# State Apprenticeship Programs in Folk and Traditional Arts, 1995



Plus U.S. districts and territories:

American Samoa
Guam
Puerto Rico
Washington, D.C.

## **LEGEND**

	Active program
	Active self-supporting program
••••	Discontinued or on hiatus
	No history of apprenticeship program

<sup>\*\*</sup> Note: New England Foundation for the Arts supports apprenticeships in the six New England states.



with the positive attention they bring to little-known, often languishing traditions and the promise they offer to reconnect the generations through cultural heritage. From lauhala weaving in Hawai'i to Abenaki traditional dancing in Vermont, a number of folk arts that might otherwise have been lost have been handed down to new practitioners. These partnerships appeal strongly to the American imagination, especially when they pair an aging master with an eager young learner. From small towns to inner cities, they generate "good news" stories in the local media and tremendous goodwill for folk arts programs.

Folklorists who run apprenticeship programs are generally gratified by the built-in advantages the partnerships offer artists and communities. Because participants appreciate the programs, coordinators gain entree for further field-work and outreach, building a pool of high quality traditional artists for other projects. Politically, the programs have become important to sponsoring agencies as a way to serve diverse artists in widely dispersed areas at modest expense. But fundamentally, coordinators value apprenticeships because they promote the transmission of tradi-

Quilt by master artist Betty Roberts of the Utah Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program.

Photo by Anne F. Hatch, courtesy Utah Arts Council

tional arts in context, as opposed to simply documenting or presenting them in public programs. When people learn the whole process of a craft, from collecting the natural materials to creating the finished product, observes one coordinator, "it guarantees the continuation of an art in a stronger way."

After a dozen years, traditional arts apprenticeships appear to be in good hands among both artists and the program coordinators who work with them. Apprenticeship programs heighten awareness of the need to pass on traditions from one knowledgeable person to the next, face-to-face and side-by-side, as it has always been done. Participation in a formal, publicized program seems to make both mas-. ters and apprentices more conscious of the delicate process of transmission. For many, the experience deepens their commitment to the tradition. "The art is no longer practiced on my reservation, and since I have an opportunity to learn, I feel a responsibility to do so, so that it doesn't die out," writes a young apprentice in Ojibway fish decoy carving in Wisconsin. "When my time comes I can teach my children and my nieces and nephews." Apprenticeship programs may well be the most potent tool folk arts programs have for cultural conservation—the systematic preservation and encouragement of cultural heritage.

The importance of apprenticeships to folk arts programming nationwide is evident in the results of a 1995 survey of 35 out of 38 active apprenticeship programs. Four-fifths of respondents report that apprenticeship programs are either essential to or among the three most important aspects of their folk arts programming; over one-third say

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that the programs are a centerpiece of their operations. For most, the value of apprenticeship programs has increased over time and had a wholly positive impact in their state.

Despite these benefits, the future of state folk arts apprenticeship programs is uncertain. In 1995, 86% of them depended on the NEA for partial support. Late that year, the NEA budget was cut by 40% and its many programs reorganized into four thematic divisions. Organizations seeking NEA grants will be competing on a broader field for fewer grants under new restrictions. Apprenticeship programs will need to diversify their funding sources if they are to continue their success.

This report, commissioned by the former NEA Folk & Traditional Arts Program through a grant to the Fund for Folk Culture, is based on the 1995 survey of 35 program coordinators, site visits to 30 teams of artists in five states, and a review of the literature from a dozen years of state apprenticeship programs.



Master artist Bonnie Chatavong (standing) teaches Laotian ikat weaving to apprentice Line Saysamondouangdy (right) in Waianae, Hawai'i.

Photo by Lynn Martin, courtesy State Foundation on Culture and the Arts

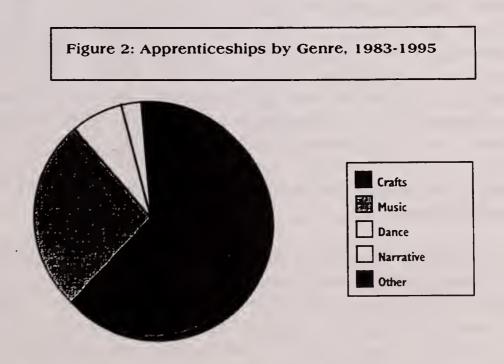
and try to make everything perfect," she insists. She makes the entire saddle by hand, using the sewing machine only for repairs. It's just one of the old-fashioned techniques she prefers for making saddles that she feels look better and last longer.

Langley still gets together with Cook to ride, talk shop, and joke about their differences. She finds hand-sewing relaxing and therapeutic; Cook considers it a waste of time. She favors long strings for tying gear onto the saddle; Cook likes them short. While Langley develops her own style and follows her own perfectionist standards, she defers to Cook on the basics. "Rex just sticks his swivel knife in the leather and it flows," says Langley of his freehand leather tooling. "I'm not there yet, but at least I've got something to look forward to when I'm older."

In 1995, Langley applied to the apprenticeship program as a master to teach Brenda Howard, who she met through 4-H activities. An avid horsewoman, Howard, too, wants to make her own saddles and expand her abilities as a crafter. "I like a challenge," she says. "I can't wait to get started."

are deceptive given variations in the states' population distribution and county configurations (from very few in the Northeast to scores in other regions). Apprenticeships are often widely scattered across a state, reaching into remote areas that are rarely served by state arts programs (see Appendix C). Patterns of grant distribution are one of the distinguishing marks of each program, as in Alabama's success in engaging rural artists, Maine's concentration on the state's Indian communities, and Hawai'i's promotion of inter-island artistic exchange.

Many coordinators strive to continually expand their program's reach, as in launching fieldwork in underrepresented regions like the Bootheel in southeastern Missouri. Program heads agree that there is no optimum geographic distribution of apprenticeships within states since master artists and traditional communities are not evenly spread in all areas. The Alabama staff and panel are typical in seeking out "the best master artists" wherever they may be.



Kitson's experience reflects some of the unique traits of the Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program of the North Dakota Council on the Arts. The program gives priority to apprenticeships in rare, endangered art forms that might otherwise vanish with their last practitioner. It recognizes that before many applications come in, "a really rigorous selection process has already taken place informally within the community," according to program coordinator Troyd Geist. And it respects the rules of protocol among the people it serves, such as those surrounding the custom of purchasing rights to teach an art form. "Flexibility is the key," says Geist.

His philosophy appears to be working well. The state has supported nearly 100 apprenticeships since 1986, expanding from mostly occupational traditions in the western region to a varied roster from throughout the state. In supporting a growing variety of genres, the program has helped broaden the public understanding of folk arts to encompass traditions such as Ukrainian ritual breadmaking.

"The apprenticeship program has a great impact on a rural state like this," says Council member, panelist, and story-telling master Mary Louise Defender-Wilson (Dakota-Hidatsa). "We've done a lot to recognize the art forms of the diversity of North Dakota people, many of whom were never recognized before." Geist finds that the program fits well with the state's independent, populist spirit and dispersed, isolated communities that often lack an arts infrastructure: "The money goes right to the people, it's one-on-one, they do it themselves. You give them guidance, but you don't put all these hoops in the way to make them jump through."

The program has left its imprint in places like Dickinson, which has a strong Ukrainian community. "Things have just ignited here, partly with the help of the apprenticeship program," says Agnes Palanuk, director of the Ukrainian Cultural Institute. A performing group was able to embroider regional costumes after sessions with a master artist from Canada; a ritual breadmaking apprenticeship sparked

increased demand for the elaborately decorated breads. One of the town's masters of *pysanky* (ritually decorated eggs) keeps her own chickens to supply quality eggs to the many practitioners in the area. Another local *pysanky* master has traveled to the Ukraine to help revive the art in its homeland.

Geist believes that funding apprenticeships is a wise, long-term investment in cultural conservation compared to other types of programming. "We're looking at a lifetime of benefits," he explains. "When it's one-to-one, your money is very well spent because that tradition will keep on going and become part of someone's life, versus just two hours of enjoyment for some audience members." By contrast, classes in the traditional arts lack the time to expose students to "the real beauty of an object, its deeper meaning" through the stones, lore, and language associated with it.

Just as he believes traditions must be part of people's daily lives to thrive, Geist thinks apprenticeships should be integrated with other folk arts projects for maximum benefit. Masters such as Peggy Langley of Sheyenne and Kitson of Bismarck have been brought into the Folk Artist-in-Residence program, enjoying the chance to teach leatherwork to schoolchildren or beadwork to Indian hospital patients. Armenian metal bas relief worker Norik Astvatsaturov of Wapeton and Kurdish lute player Luqman Maii of Fargo have been guest speakers at the annual Folk Arts Institute, introducing North Dakota teachers to the new cultures in their midst. Master artists are also highlighted in the state's recent exhibit and accompanying book "Faces of Identity, Hands of Skill."

Their connections with the apprenticeship program have been a milestone in the lives of some artists. Langley saved the tape from her answering machine on which Geist first left a message suggesting an apprenticeship. New immigrants like Astvatsaturov are grateful for the interest the arts council takes in them and their culture. "We feel we are not alone," he says. "I will never forget that." Similarly,

# History & Funding



One of the country's oldest programs, Alabama has long supported old-time fiddling apprenticeships like that of master Arlin Moon and granddaughter Tina Ray.

Photo by Joey Brackner, courtesy Alabama State Council on the Arts

Although the NEA began funding individual apprenticeship pairs in 1978 and three states (Alaska, Louisiana, and Illinois) started their own folk arts apprenticeship programs in the early 1980's, it was the NEA Folk Arts Program's pilot project in 1983 that prompted the growth of state apprenticeship programs around the country. NEA support spread from an initial three states (Florida, Mississippi, New York) to 15 states and territories in 1985 up to a peak of 30 in 1991.

Most current apprenticeship programs were begun in the 1980's, especially between 1985 and 1989. Predictably, it is the states with the oldest programs that have supported the most apprenticeships. The top-ranking five states with over 130 apprenticeships each are, in order from the highest, Missouri, Kansas, Alaska, Alabama, and Wisconsin.

The basic mission of apprenticeship programs has held

steady over the years: to support intimate, informal coaching in the traditional arts by an experienced master working with a less experienced apprentice. Consensus around this mission has grown with the spawning of each new state program. The main benefits of apprenticeship programs were as evident to coordinators ten years ago as they are today. A 1985 report cited cost effectiveness, direct support for artists, broad geographic and ethnic coverage, potential for preserving tradition, and flexibility in administration as key advantages.

With time, further benefits have become apparent. The longer an apprenticeship program has been in place, the more likely artists are to gain recognition, the more likely communities are to feel the impact, and the more folk arts programs tend to create spin-off projects. Over time, the roster of program participants also tends to get more diverse.

Longer experience administering apprenticeships does not necessarily mean fewer problems. In 1985, 1991, and again in 1995, coordinators noted problems that appear to be inherent to this sort of program. These include laborintensive administration, lack of time for fieldwork or site visits, and the challenges of dealing with inappropriate applicants and ensuring the necessary state funding (see IX. Administrative Issues).

Over the years, coordinators have shared a remarkable basic consensus around how the programs should be run, in spite of variations in program structure and priorities. For example, the 1985 report noted that apprenticeships work better if they are solicited through fieldwork and extend upon a prior relationship between master and apprentice—observations echoed by many today.

Another striking continuity in a dozen years of state apprenticeship programs is in funding levels—a sign that

# The Apprenticeship Concept

Apprenticing oneself to a master is a time-honored way to learn many crafts and trades. Current folk arts apprentice-ships in shop trades such as blacksmithing, instrument building, pottery, and glassblowing are a reminder of this tradition. Yet most folk arts apprenticeships are not so formal, intensive, and long-term as those of the preindustrial era, nor are they mainly intended to initiate someone into a livelihood.

system of taps on the anvil, just as an American Indian artist learns the ceremony required before cutting a tree for use in a basket. "Ola Belle shared her banjo style, her incredible repertoire, her life history and her family history, her political and religious outlooks and her recipes, her famous chicken soup, and her strength of mountain-bred character," writes apprentice Judy Marti of Pennsylvania. It is this

Folk arts apprenticeships "represent a particular kind of creative marriage," wrote folklorists Bess Lomax Hawes and Barry Bergey in 1993, "a joining together of the experienced hand and the eager learner to ensure that the tradition is maintained as accurately as can be and that the old ideas get a respectful hearing." No mere lessons, apprenticeships are ideally personal and cultural relationships.

These pairings seek to pass on not only skills but the sense of style and meaning that sustain the quality of a tradition. A black-smith learns the communication



Detail of Palestinian embroidery by master artist Feryal Abbasi-Ghnaim and apprentices
Wafa and Fida Ghnaim.

Photo by Eliza Buck, courtesy Oregon Folk Arts Program style, going far beyond what can be learned in a class. The master-apprentice pair is still the most common arrangement. But most states also allow group apprenticeships, especially in group traditions such as gospel quartet singing.

The two essential ingredients in a successful apprenticeship are a highly skilled traditional master artist willing to teach and an apprentice willing to learn—what Hawes and Bergey call "a timely convergence of aptitude and attitude." Saddlemaker Martin Bergin of Missouri offers a definition of the term "master artist": "Basically what it comes down to is acceptance of the quality of your work by your peers and by those that use your saddles that know what a good saddle is." Another distinguishing trait of master artists who become involved in apprenticeships is their generosity of spirit and eagerness to pass on their knowledge. "It gives me much satisfaction when I have created something beautiful, durable, and useful," says quilter Mary Ann Norton of Mississippi, "and even more satisfaction and pleasure when I have helped someone else to learn how."

Paired with such artists are others, often younger people, who have taken a special interest in a tradition or progressed to an intermediate stage. They may be hesitant at first, like Harriet Allen who used to be intimidated watching her grandmother make cradleboards on the Shoshone/Paiute reservation in Nevada, but later became determined "to learn to do this while there are still people around to teach it."

What exactly gets accomplished in an apprenticeship? The answer varies with each partnership and program. In West Virginia, master weaver Leota Davy and granddaughter Susan McDonald "wove on a barn frame loom with oldstyle threaded hettles that has been used by the family for 150 years, and in 60 hours covered all the steps necessary to produce traditional rag rugs." In Florida, an old-time fiddling apprentice learned 30 new tunes and now accompanies her teacher at performances. In American Samoa, several apprenticeship teams constructed a traditional

"As far back as we can trace, they made [white oak] baskets in our family," says Marjorie Westfall Prewitt of Missouri. "All of us children had to learn to make baskets. When we got big enough to hold one on our knees, then we started to work on them. And I think all of them felt like I did. I thought when I grew up and married and moved away, I would never make another basket." But 25 years later, she found herself enlisting her brother to help collect basketry materials and sitting down again to do the weaving.

Prewitt took on her nephew as an apprentice, and he, in turn, plans to teach his son the family tradition.

The ripple effect of the programs reaches more people as artists find new outlets for their work and folk arts programs create spin-off projects like exhibits. Perhaps most importantly, many traditional art forms that might have died with their last practitioners are passed on to the next generation.



Apprentices often bring together seasoned masters like African American tap dancing legend Edith "Baby Edwards" Hunt (left) and enthusiastic younger apprentices like Germain Ingram.

Photo by Jane Levine. courtesy Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission A certain community of taste is affirmed in the bend in a note, the blend of a harmony, the beat of a tune, or in the texture of a surface, the tint of a fiber, or the tightness of a form. These subtle cultural values and the artistic skills associated with them are still best taught one-on-one. This represents the core of the apprenticeship concept.

— Barry Bergey,

<u>The Masters:</u>

<u>Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program</u>

<u>Missouri, 1984-1986</u>

shops as part of the Utah Opera's education program or Cambodian American classical dancers are invited to perform amidst modern dancers at Jacob's Pillow in Massachusetts, traditional artists gain crucial new audiences. Likewise, when Hmong American embroiderers in Rhode Island sell their work to the International Museum of Folk Art in Santa Fe and when a Wasco Indian sallie bag maker from Oregon is invited to an Indigenous Arts Conference in New Zealand, important boundaries are crossed.

Still another form of recognition, cited as important by three-quarters of respondents, is apprentices' promotion to the level of master artist within the program. Geronimo Olivas of Colorado apprenticed himself to master santero Rubén Jaramillo in 1990. Five years later, he had created a santero class at a vocational school, become a master himself (taking on the program's first female apprentice in this art form), and become "an articulate spokesman in the San Luis Valley about the value of the traditional arts in promoting self-esteem in adults and children," according to the program coordinator.

It's become a real status thing for Native Hawaiians to be part of the apprenticeship program. People took the master artists for granted before; now they look up to them. It's done wonders for their spirit.

Nathan Napoka,

panelist

State Foundation on Culture

and the Arts, Hawai'i

were in a homemade wooden johnboat," says Cecil Murray, a third-generation craftsman who has built more than forty boats. Though aluminum boats have since taken over, Steve Cookson, a high school teacher who grew up in the Current River area, cherishes a love for the old boats and has "fooled around" during summers as a boatmaking demonstrator for the National Park Service. "I knew I could learn a lot from a master craftsman," Cookson says. "I also wanted to learn more about the history and lore of the Current River and pick up fishing tips and techniques."

Cookson had to be persistent to convince Murray to take him on as an apprentice, but once approved, it became Cookson's job to keep up with Murray. Without the apprenticeship, the men agree, they would not have been motivated to set up a regular schedule for visits and take on a long-term project. Nor would Cookson have been exposed to the changes in tools and design that Murray has adapted to modern needs in this living tradition.

Every year, Everts-Boehm documents one program team in the essay series "Missouri Masters and Their Traditional Arts." The attractive 12-page booklets educate people around the state about the deep connections between artists and their communities. They are illustrated portraits not only of a master's life and work but of the local history, group customs, and artistic tradition from which they spring. A 1993 essay on Mexican American manachi trumpeter Beto Lopez takes a wide sweep, from Mexican traders on the Santa Fe Trail to contemporary barrio murals on Kansas City's Westside. "By choosing to become a manachi musician—a choice that he made over other styles of music at which he is equally adept—Mr. Lopez is satisfying a personal as well as a community need," writes Everts-Boehm. Lopez' teenage apprentice Antonio Sierra, Jr. may be choosing a similar path as he takes time out from a Latino pop band to learn sones and rancheras.

Apprenticeships have brought unprecedented recognition to traditional artists around the state, including six masters who received National Heritage Fellowships and two who

received state arts awards. But the real sign of the success of an apprenticeship, Everts-Boehm suggests, is whether the relationship—and the tradition—continue after the end of the grant. As johnboat apprentice Steve Cookson says, "I'll always be coming back to help Cecil build boats, or if I can't find another reason, just to pester him."



Handmade johnboats were almost extinct on Ozark streams until revived by apprenticeships like that of master boatbuilder Cecil Murray (left) and apprentice Jon Murray.

Photo by Dana Everts-Boehm. courtesy Missouri Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program

# Impact on Artists:

# Legacy & Opportunity

Artists are eloquent about how apprenticeships have made an impact on their lives and work. In letters, interviews, evaluation meetings, and final reports, they testify to the legacies they have given and received. "I've been searching for a teacher for years and she is the one," says Donna Lee Cockett of her master in a Hawaiian lauhala weaving apprenticeship. "Aunty Jane believes that if you have a gift, you must pass it on."

"I have to give these secrets away," African American master gardener Blanche Epps of Pennsylvania declares. "Otherwise, who's going to keep doing it after I am gone?" Even masters initially skeptical about taking on an apprentice seem to become more aware of the part they play in sustaining a tradition. Tex-Mex accordionist Cruz Rangel in Washington state finally decided, "Why not? Other people passed it on to me when I was a young child, and if I don't [do the same], there might not be anyone else." The young members of El Grupo Sueño now practice at Rangel's house and get frequent bookings that include their teacher. In Wisconsin, some American Indian artists have used their involvement in the program as a way to officially designate a successor.

Both masters and apprentices speak of the strong personal bonds that emerge from the experience. "Of all the things I learned." writes typical one apprentice, mostly treasure gaining a friend like my teacher." Says Francis Whitaker, an 87-



Master Cleo Salazar (left) weaves Rio Grande cultural history and lore into apprenticeship with daughter Maxine Jacquez.

Photo by Claude Stephenson, courtesy New Mexico Arts Division

year-old master blacksmith in Colorado, "Gordon has provided me with a rare opportunity to pass my skills on to someone who will use them the rest of his life. He has mastered every assignment given to him." Says his apprentice, Gordon Stonington, "The apprenticeship has been a wonderful opportunity for me, as a teacher, to be a student. . .[Francis] has been gracious, helpful, demanding, and many other things. He has become my friend."

other islands in Hawai'i to teach or learn. Though job training is not the primary purpose of apprenticeships, it can be a much-appreciated benefit that makes the difference in whether others are able to sustain their involvement with a tradition.

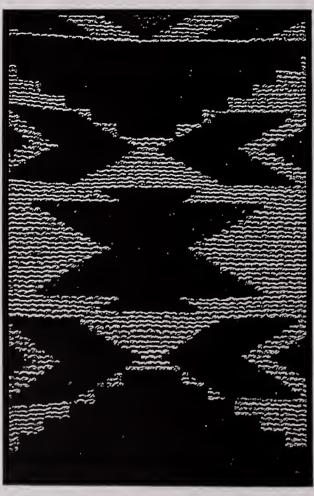
Apprenticeships are living testimony to the value of lifelong learning. Masters at the top of their field find challenges in teaching. Mississippi fiddler Charlie Smith, for one, is grateful to an apprenticeship for "shaking me out of my rut. It gave me back some things I'd almost forgotten because nobody had asked me about it for so long," he says. Apprentices of varied ages discover their natural talents while rediscovering their cultural roots, especially in middle age. "People in my area have seen what an ordinary

housewife has been able to learn and do without having to leave home," observes Helen Cole, a Pennsylvania weaving apprentice.

Apprenticeships have also done much for the self-esteem of participants and the regard in which they are held by others. A blind Hawaiian musician who has Hansen's disease was inspired with the confidence to begin a professional storytelling career, drawing on his own family history of growing up in the leper colony on Molokai. Ukrainian American embroiderer Claudia Kropywiansky had almost abandoned her art when she became a master in the Colorado program; her dubious neighbors and husband were impressed. Some masters are surprised at how others value what they have to offer, like a Franco American fiddler in New Hampshire who felt shy about teaching a lawyer or a Mexican American harpist in Colorado who plays by ear and was wary of taking on an apprentice who reads music.

For some master artists, apprenticeships offer a way to instill key cultural values in youth, especially those who seem adrift and in need of a caring mentor. In Wisconsin, Jim Razer (Ojibwa) immersed his three young apprentices in the preparation of powwow regalia by taking them with him to gather materials, visit elders, and attend powwows. Razer hoped to "turn one young man's life just enough" to ensure his continued cultural involvement. The same concerns drive master Cambodian dancer Chamroeun Yin in Pennsylvania. "I want the children born here in the U.S. to

learn about their own culture and ways of respect and discipline," he say of his young students. "I believe this can keep them away from bad influences such as drugs and crime."



Detail of Nez Perce cornhusk bag by master artist Rose Frank of Idaho.

Photo by Blanton Owen, courtesy Idaho Commission on the Arts

potential of the arts of her heritage, her teacher was gratified that Shiroma's extensive training prepared her to take on the challenges of the dance theater form.

Like Shiroma, guitarist Harry Koizumi was versatile in several styles before he began studying Hawaiian slack key guitar with master Raymond Kane in Waianae. "I never paid attention to Hawaiian music before; I thought it was all Waikiki [commercial] stuff," Koizumi says. "When I heard slack key, it blew me away, because it's more difficult than you would have imagined." He appreciated the chance to learn directly from one of the most important authentic sources of the tradition.

"The apprenticeship gave me purpose," Koizumi says, "it just brought me back home. I want to teach the locals about this music because a lot of them don't know." Kane is proud that his students are teaching others and encourages them to take all opportunities to perform and compose the sweet, relaxing finger-picking style. "If you can't give it from the heart, don't give it at all," he advises.

Slack key guitar, steel guitar, and Hawaiian chant are regulars on the program roster, thanks in part to support from the Hawai'i Academy of Recording Arts. So are lauhala weaving and other traditional Hawaiian crafts. About 80% of the program's 106 apprenticeships in the past ten years have been in Native Hawaiian art forms. Program director Lynn Martin says this is a reflection of who applies to the

program, which is shaped, in turn, by the well-organized network of Hawaiian civic clubs that spread the word and strong awareness of the need for Native Hawaiian cultural conservation.

Panelist Napoka has seen the impact of the program in places like Ni'ihau, where the Hawaiian language is still regularly spoken. "It's become a real status thing to be part of the apprenticeship program," he observes. "People took the master artists for granted before; now they look up to them. It's done wonders for their spirit." Similarly, on the Big Island, where many Native Hawaiian artists live and where the program has spawned a renaissance in lauhala weaving, people are waiting in line for the chance to work with masters. And the program's commitment to providing vouchers for inter-island travel has helped ensure a level of quality work on islands less steeped in a particular tradition.

One who has shared her knowledge in several apprenticeships is Minnie Ka'awaloa, a wise and gentle lauhala weaver of 73. Her students gather in her open-air garage in Puna around good food, coils of lauhala (pandanus leaves), and hat molds. "You weave slowly," says apprentice Irene Perry, "so you can hear more stories."

Auntie Minnie takes her apprentices through the arduous process of harvesting and preparing the fiber long before she shows them how to start the piko (navel/center) for a

Hawaiian lauhala weaving master Minnie Ka'awaloa (second from right) flanked by apprentices (from left) Loretta Hera, Irene Perry, and Noelani Ng, modeling lauhala hats.

Photo by Lynn Martin. courtesy State Foundation on Culture and the Arts



a renewed appreciation for the art form while it has brought his apprentice, Randall Ho, a new discipline in his life and work.

With its impressive variety of genres and inter-island scope, the Hawai'i program has become increasingly visible over the years. Five masters have been awarded the National Heritage Fellowship, and many were featured in the restaging of the Hawai'i portion of the Smithsonian Folklife Festival in 1990. Coordinator Lynn Martin can rely on her informal "deputies in the field," including former participants, to help new applicants through the process. As a result, she says, "I no longer have to sit in people's kitchens filling out applications." This growth and stability have led Martin to try to organize a gathering of program participants to discuss mutual concerns and enjoy visits to museums and botanical gardens. Meanwhile, she and her committee seek to continually refine the program, disqualifying some genres that proved too controversial, imposing a minimum age on apprentices (16) and a maximum limit on repeat apprenticeships (three years).

Will apprentices in Hawai'i pass it on, as the program

intends? The prospects look good: Agnes Chan wants to train more young people in Cantonese opera; Loretta Hera has led a group of young Native Hawaiians in the production of hand-woven baskets for the reinterment of ancestral bones; Harry Koizumi is working on an instructional video for slack key guitar. Martin concedes that a few less successful apprenticeships are "leaps of faith. We take the risk," she explains, "because once you lose something entirely and it has to be resurrected, so much gets lost. Apprenticeships are a quiet, steady way to continue stabbing away at making sure that something makes it from one generation to the next."

Back in Kalena Silva's house in Hilo, Lehua Matsuoka describes her first lesson in Hawaiian chant as "intense." But she is keen to go on, having heard from a previous apprentice that after the experience, "I will sound different, chant different, and feel different." Silva hopes that his apprentices, like their ancestors, will find a place for chant in occasions like greeting a long-lost friend. "If a tradition is just up on a stage, it's not strong," he believes. "I think it's possible to retrieve it and revive it for everyday life. Then it will seem natural for the next generation of kids."



Apprentice Lehua Matsuoka (right), at her first lesson in Hawaiian chant with master Kalena Silva.

Photo by Lynn Martin. courtesy State Foundation on Culture and the Arts apprenticeship projects stimulate cultural pride, as with the revived Abenaki Adult Dance Group that is now in great demand for performances in Vermont. Among the other endangered Indian art forms that might have been lost without apprenticeships are Wasco sallie bag full-turn twining (Oregon), Winnebago finger beadwork (Wisconsin), Goshute basketweaving (Utah), Hidatsa bird quillwork (North Dakota), and Kiowa hymn singing (Oklahoma).

One Oklahoma apprenticeship mushroomed when passersby overheard Ralph Kotay and Richard Tsartsah working on Kiowa hymns every week before church. At first, the others would just listen or suggest songs; gradually, they joined in. "By the end of the apprenticeship," the coordinator reports, "Mr. Kotay had a class full of students. When we attended a practice session, many of those attending came up to tell me what an impact the program had had on their little church group. One lady said that she had always sung the words but had never had the songs translated for her."



Master Clara Neptune Keezer (left) from a renowned Passamaquoddy family of basketmakers, works with son Rocky Keezer, now a full-time professional.

Photo by Cedric Chatterly. courtesy Maine Arts Commission

"If basketmaking isn't done in the household, then a kid can't learn any time he wants to," notes Richard Silliboy (Micmac), who has worked with the program as a master artist and panelist. "That's what I didn't understand about our traditions being passed down orally. I'm afraid the brown ash basket is going to fall right down the same line as language and many other things." Silliboy taught his nephew how to select, harvest, and prepare the ash in a 1994 apprenticeship, getting lots of help with tree hauling in the process.

The Neptune family, which has been especially active in the program, is notable for its fancy baskets in the Passamaquoddy style. Clara Neptune Keezer did an apprenticeship with her 40-year-old son Rocky, who intends to teach his daughter "every step, from scraping to splitting, gauging, how to cut the standards . . . everything. That's how it should be," he says. Rocky Keezer makes baskets full-time, averaging two a day and attracting the interest of out-of-state collectors. With greater recognition for Indian baskets has come an inflated market, with baskets selling for \$50-150 or more.

The ripple effect of the apprenticeship program and the Alliance continues to swirl around Indian artists and communities in Maine. Spin-off projects such as the traveling exhibit "Basket Trees/Basket Makers" have brought attention to the sorry state of brown ash trees and the flourish-

ing state of the art. Recognition for artists has expanded with the awarding of a National Heritage Fellowship to Mary Gabriel and a Maine Arts Commission Individual Artist Fellowship to Clara Keezer, as well as a lavish article on the Neptune family in *Native Peoples* magazine. Basketmaking workshops have become a popular feature of the intertribal Wabanaki Confederacy gathering.

As program coordinator Mundell looks back on five years of success, she also looks forward to a day when basket-making apprenticeships might be run by the Alliance or partially funded by tribal councils. Indian art forms, particularly basketmaking, have accounted for 70% of Maine's apprenticeships, and Mundell thinks it may be time for the program to evolve in new directions. She is especially interested in making more contacts in the Franco American community, where the program has supported apprenticeships in fiddling and Acadian home songs.

Meanwhile, the Maine program helps beginners get started and helps masters keep going in a basketmaking tradition that appears to be in no danger of a "dieback." "It's a little thing that keeps them going," says Rocky Keezer, speaking of the program's effect on Indian artists. "All it takes is a little nudge."

# Impact on Folk Arts Programs & Sponsor Agencies

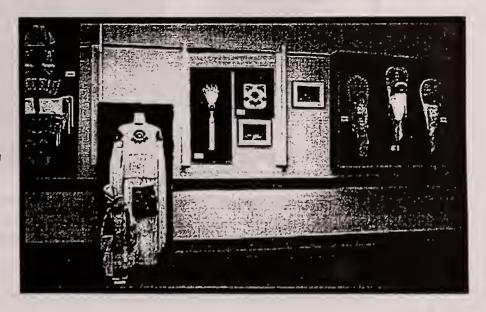
Several coordinators call apprenticeships the "foundation" or "cornerstone" of their state folk arts program. "You cement a relationship much better with apprenticeship program participants than you do with your typical slash-and-burn folk arts survey," observes Bob Stone of the Florida Folklife Program. "The artists come back year after year at the festival and do other presentations. They become our allies." Apprenticeship programs give coordinators the chance for deeper friendship with and advocacy

for artists while building archives and a roster of quality participants for other projects. Apprenticeships pave the way for further fieldwork with families and communities that have benefited from the program.

Two of the most popular spin-offs of apprenticeship programs are showcase events at state capitols and traveling exhibits. "We have found that artists particularly like the opportunity to come to the capitol, meet the Lieutenant

The annual Traditional Arts
Apprenticeship Program exhibit
at the Oregon History Center
displays work made by
participants.

Photo by Eliza Buck. courtesy Oregon Folk Arts Program



# Tricks of the Trade

"Tricks of the Trade: Apprenticeships in the Traditional Arts," curated by Amy Skillman for the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts and the Pennsylvania Hentage Affairs Commission as part of a 10th Anniversary Celebration, is one of the most recent and intriguing exhibits to emerge from an apprentice-ship program. The traveling exhibit uses documentary photos and quote-laden text to profile 19 master/apprentice pairs out of the more than 100 that have passed through the program. A survey of participating artists and sponsoring organizations suggested the exhibit's organizational themes ("Learning Together," "Sharing Secrets," "Mastering the Tricks," and "Passing It On").

The exhibit is unusual for its aim to engage the interest of children, whose support it views as crucial for the future of traditional arts. (A few children were even part of the advisory committee!) Children are drawn in through simple text addressed directly to them; hands-on 'Can You Do This?' activities, such as practicing a strenuous Asian Indian classical dance posture before a mirror; and a focus on learning-by-doing that children can grasp from their own experience. "Have you ever had a teacher that became a good friend?" asks one exhibit panel, and another, "Did you ever make a drum out of things you found around your neighborhood?" An accompanying "Treasure Hunt Guide" has child viewers identify the parts of a musical instrument, draw a Hmong textile pattern, and explain why certain techniques take so long to learn. At

tify the parts of a musical instrument, draw a Hmong textile pattern, and explain why certain techniques take so long to learn. At the end, viewers are invited to write in something they would like to learn or teach through a method like an apprenticeship.

A "Rhymes and Rhythms" concert tour extends apprenticeship concepts to performing arts and artists. Winning rave reviews in its travels so far, the exhibit's organizers hope it will bring in more apprenticeship applications.



Exhibit images of Bharathanatyam classical Indian dance lessons with master Shoba Sharma (center) urged young visitors to mirror the movements.

Photo by Jane Levine. courtesy Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission

and sing all day, and then get back home." To accommodate modern work schedules, Deason now holds schools on five consecutive evenings and ends early, with a culminating community sing and social time as well as a final summer sing for all his schools together. Churches that have invited Deason to hold a school often go on to sponsor their own singings. Without support from the apprenticeship program, coordinator Brackner believes, Alabama would not have the more than 300 singings it has today, and masters like Deason would be less able to publish hymnals, publicize schools, travel to other counties, and train new leaders.

# Administrative

# Issues

# Organization & Operations

Apprenticeship programs operate within broadly similar lines in a variety of administrative structures. By far the most common arrangement, as with folk arts programs in general, is to be housed within a state arts agency or other public institution such as a historical society (Kansas), museum (Michigan), or university (Missouri). In Colorado, the state arts council provides most of the support for three regional coordinators in a unique public-private partnership (see page 42). A few apprenticeship programs are run by private nonprofit organizations.

The organizational profile of each apprenticeship program is shaped by local conditions as well as the limitations and opportunities of their host institution. In keeping with general arts council guidelines, for example, the Pennsylvania and New York programs allow only organizations (rather than individuals) to apply for apprenticeships, and the New England Foundation for the Arts program encourages regional partnerships that cross state lines. To maximize its resources, the New Hampshire program collaborates with the state Fish and Game Department, which helps publicize and document apprenticeships in the "outdoor arts." Targeted programs have evolved distinctive policies and procedures. For instance, Wisconsin asks masters (often elders) to initiate the applications. Idaho solicits representatives from each tribe for its panel, and Oklahoma has an unusual community evaluation (see page 47). The adapt-



The New Hampshire program's partnership with the state Fish'& Game Department promotes apprenticeships like that of master Fred Dolan (left) and Shawn Gillis in duck decoy carving.

Photo by Jill Linzee. courtesy New Hampshire State Council on the Arts

ability of apprenticeship programs to distinctive needs and populations is often cited as one of their strengths.

Despite variation in the structure and operations of apprenticeship programs, they share a number of basic administrative characteristics. Typically, state apprenticeship programs award 5-10 or 10-15 apprenticeships a year for periods of 6-12 months. About half specify the amount that should go to the master artist as a lump sum, a percentage of the total award, or an hourly rate; only one-quarter require a minimum number of meetings or hours.



Apprentice Norma Mendoza watches master Maria Guadalupe Barajas sew a charro hat, one result of the Oregon program's outreach to Mexican Americans.

Photo by Eliza Buck, courtesy Oregon Folk Arts Program

same for apprentices with a prior working relationship with the master. Other selection criteria include relevance of the art form to the state's cultural heritage (Florida), representative balance of program needs (Missouri), and the potential of the apprenticeship to strengthen a sponsoring organization's presenting capabilities (Pennsylvania).

Coordinators express regret about having to reject qualified applicants due to lack of funds. "The artists take it hard and they often don't apply again," says Lynn Martin of Hawai'i. "They don't have the same buffer for rejection as a nonprofit organization." Kathleen Mundell of Maine agrees that making apprenticeships competitive "defeats the original purpose" and seeks participant ideas on how to most fairly distribute limited funds.

# Eligibility Issues

There is greater variety among programs when it comes to the fine print of who is eligible for apprenticeships and who ultimately gets selected.

Because art forms often cross state or even national borders, most programs allow study with out-of-state master artists; others prohibit these arrangements due to state law. Masters from Guam have coached Chamorro apprentices

in California, Ukrainian American embroiderers have worked with teachers from Canada, and several American apprentices in Asian Indian dance have studied with internationally-known masters overseas. In each case, apprenticeships brought distant sources of a tradition closer to students who might otherwise not have had access to them.

Many programs have struggled with the question of apprenticeships among family members. On the one hand, folklorists want to support the traditional transmission of art forms through families. With the dispersion and economic pressures of contemporary family life, family members often need an incentive to take the time away from jobs and daily chores to concentrate on an art form. On the other hand, if family members are likely to learn the tradition anyway, why have a grant? The consensus seems to be that the benefits outweigh the risks. Virtually all programs allow apprenticeships within families, and the Utah program considers such teams among the most successful. As a precaution, some programs impose restrictions on apprenticeships with immediate or co-resident family members, such as requiring an additional unrelated apprentice (Wisconsin) or limiting support to expenses rather than honoraria (Florida).

Similar caution prevails in programs that allow group apprenticeships (89%), repeat apprenticeships (91%), and apprentices under age 18 (89%). Apprenticeships are

master status? Varying levels of mastery are inevitable among different art forms and cultures, suggests panelist Nathan Napoka of Hawai'i. Members tend to rely on those who know the most about a given tradition or community to reach consensus. The critical factors seem to be whether the person is recognized as a master, is ready to teach, and has freely chosen to work with a given apprentice. Most programs have witnessed the appropriation of the term "master artist" by participants on their business cards and promotional literature, and at least one program has turned down the request to issue certificates of mastery to artists.

# Presentations and Evaluation

About one-third of programs require or strongly encourage a final public presentation by participants. Such events give apprentices a goal to work towards while affording both artists greater recognition and helping administrators to assess the team's success, a Utah coordinator suggests.

The most common way to monitor the progress of apprenticeships is through site visits (91%), generally one per year by staff. A small number of programs manage two visits per year or contract with outside experts. Such visits are important not only for evaluation purposes but for cementing relationships and documenting the program. "I used to think the visit was something of an intrusion," notes one coordinator. "But most people welcome site visits and want to have the opportunity to show the progress they have made."

About two-thirds of programs require a final report from participants, some making payment contingent on this. Others encourage apprentices to keep a log or journal of their learning experience and request copies for program files. The few states that have sponsored reunions or meetings for the purposes of group evaluation have found these gatherings helpful.

### Cross-Cultural Apprenticeships?

Should apprenticeships between artists of different cultural backgrounds be allowed or encouraged in ethnic traditional arts? The NEA and most state apprenticeship programs give priority to artists from within the same culture since their mission is mainly cultural conservation.

A notable exception is the state-funded Pennsylvania program, in which a Romanian fiddler taught a non-Romanian fiddle aficionado and an African American gardener passed on her skills to a recent Vietnamese immigrant. Such working relationships can be just as intense and fruitful as apprenticeships within the same culture, advocates believe, especially when there are no interested learners within a community. Crosscultural apprenticeships can also make sense in a "chop suey," racially mixed society like that of Hawai'i, where a dedicated Portuguese-Hawaiian master jokes about teaching Japanese mingei pottery to his Chinese American apprentice.

Some programs have been pleased to see spin-offs that enhance the cross-cultural awareness of apprenticeship participants, like jam sessions between African and Japanese American taiko drumming teams in Nevada or joint performances of Irish American step dancers and African American tap dancers in Missouri. But cross-cultural learning is not the point of apprenticeships, critics argue, and can be pursued more effectively through other projects.

state match for federal funds. Half of all programs have also had problems dealing with inappropriate or ineligible applicants, such as the team that wanted to airbrush American Indian images onto T-shirts. Only a handful of the more than 2,500 apprenticeships awarded over the



Site visits allow program staff to see completed apprentice work like these Alaska Native mukluks by Beverly Cloud.

Photo by Beverly Cloud, courtesy Alaska State Council on the Arts

years have involved misuse of funds, according to the survey. Other problems cited include justifying support for religious traditions (from American Indian ceremonial objects to Hmong shamanistic ritual); justifying the presence of cultural specialists on panels; and paying artists who live out of state or who are on public assistance. When

### A Community Evaluation

In Oklahoma, where most apprenticeships involve American Indians, teams choose a venue to present their work as part of a community evaluation. "Because many of the traditional artists do not engage in 'performances' outside of their communities, the evaluation process has proved to be one of the most interesting aspects of the apprenticeship process," writes Dayna Lee of the State Arts Council of Oklahoma.

"Last year, limmy Lee Sanders and Lewis Johnson, his apprentice, demonstrated hidetanning at Mr. Sanders' home. It was almost like a family reunion. Mr. Sanders and Mr. Johnson are distantly related, and members of both of their families brought sandwiches, gathered their lawn chairs, and watched while Mr. Johnson talked about what he had learned and took us through the process of tanning deer hides. The observers even engaged in the evaluation process, pointing out that hide used for certain ceremonial items must be handled differently than hide used for secular materials. They also contributed ideas about dying hides by using different types of smokes or

smudges."

# Tricks of the Trade for Coordinators

Some tips from past and present coordinators on successful administrative practices are listed below. These are not models but suggestions that may or may not be adaptable for use in other programs.

### Fieldwork/Outreach

- Utilize regional coordinators to expand program's reach (Colorado).
- Collaborate with other state agencies to get more mileage out of the program (New Hampshire).
- Offer technical assistance funding to past participants who plug program at their public presentations (Florida).
- Cultivate close working relationship with tribal leaders or heads of tribal cultural programs (Idaho, Maine, Wisconsin).
- Tap into state 4-H and senior citizen networks for referrals, and publish postcards of teams at work (West Virginia).
- Do annual targeted fieldwork or regional surveys to broaden base of applicants (Vermont).
- Arrange participants in database sorted by zip code; send press releases and/or clippings to local media and politicians around state (Washington).
- Feature photo illustration of traditional artist at work on cover of program brochure or application form to attract attention in traditional communities (Alaska).

## Guidelines/Application

- Keep it clear and simple (various).
- Show artists a sample application (Kansas).
- Offer short- and long-term options (e.g., 3-month v. 8-month apprenticeships) to attract different types of projects (Flonda, New Mexico).
- Require support material, including letters of support and audio-visual documentation, from both masters and apprentices and assist applicants in preparing such materials (various).
- Document artists' work for them to level out quality of applications (Alabama).
- Convene annual meeting to discuss new issues and potential guideline changes (Hawai'i).

### **Payment**

- Pay in two installments, with payments dependent on receipt of reports (various).
- Pay awards as honoraria to masters to use at their discretion, including giving some to apprentices (Michigan).
- Set standard award amounts for all apprenticeships (Illinois, Wisconsin).
- Use customized software ("Hobie") to streamline paperwork and payments (Hawai'i).

### Panels

- Involve panelists in eliciting applications and evaluating existing apprenticeships; brief them on program priorities to ensure representative roster of participants (Missouri).
- Have folklorist present applications to panel (Colorado).
- Retain a core of experienced panel members to ensure consistency in selection (vanous).

### Monitoring/Evaluation

- Have apprentices keep and submit a log of all meetings (Mississippi).
- Contract with documentation assistant (Hawai'i) or cultural specialists in specific genres (Michigan) for quality site visits.
- Encourage apprentices to keep a journal by giving them a sample form to jot down stories and terms to remember, questions to ask, and plans for the next session (Hawai'i).
- Sponsor reunions or gatherings of participants for group evaluation and fellowship (Maine, Kansas).

# Prospects for

# Future Support

For 12 years, the National Endowment for the Arts, through its Folk & Traditional Arts Program, has given crucial support to state folk arts apprenticeship programs. Recent changes at the NEA have profound implications for the future of these programs.

In late 1995, the NEA budget was cut by 40%, severely reducing both grant monies and staff. Discipline-specific programs such as Folk & Traditional Arts were eliminated and the agency was reorganized into four theme areas: Heritage & Preservation, Creation & Presentation, Planning & Stabilization, and Education & Access. State agencies and other organizations are still eligible to apply for grants to support folk arts apprenticeship programs. However, applicants must compete on a broader field for fewer grants, with less staff time available to deal with requests. New restrictions apply, such as a limit of one NEA grant request per agency or organization per year. Requests

may have to be framed in terms of special projects rather than ongoing programs and positions. Additional NEA funds may become available through state arts council monies set aside for underserved populations. (For further details, see the NEA *Grants to Organizations Application Guidelines* or contact the Folk and Traditional Arts Specialist at 202-682-5428.)

Apprenticeship programs have a record of high artistic quality, public popularity, and cost-effective productivity. State folk arts programs face the challenge of publicizing this success and making a case for increased state support of apprenticeships in tough economic times. NEA staff encourage organizations to explore innovative public/private partnerships and seek funding from a wide variety of sources to ensure the continued success of apprenticeship programs.



The Hawai'i Academy of Recording
Arts supports apprenticeships like
those of Hawaiian slack key guitar
legend Raymond Kane (center) with
Bobby Moderow, Jr. (left) and Harry
Koizumi (right). More such
partnerships are necessary to
sustain state programs.

Photo by Lynn Martin, courtesy State Foundation on Culture and the Arts

# Appendix A

# How the Survey Was Conducted

The survey was conducted by Susan Auerbach, a freelance writer and arts consultant who was formerly Folk Arts Coordinator for the City of Los Angeles, on behalf of the former NEA Folk & Traditional Arts Program through a grant to The Fund for Folk Culture. After reviewing two previous reports on state apprenticeship programs and NEA apprenticeship grant application files and literature, Auerbach designed a five-page questionnaire to elicit comparable quantitative information from each state on the impact and administration of apprenticeships. Questionnaires and county outline maps were sent to approximately 40 states and territories with folk arts apprenticeship programs in April, 1995, with a 92% response rate (35 out of 38 active programs). All statistics in this report were compiled from 1995 survey results. Other sources of information include site visits to five states (Alabama, Hawai'i, Maine, Missouri, North Dakota), including interviews with more than 30 artist teams by Auerbach as well as Jill Linzee of New Hampshire and Sanford Rikoon of Missouri; telephone interviews with selected program coordinators; state program literature such as booklets, guidelines, newsletters, and reports; and supporting materials such as letters from artists and news clippings.

Do you require a minimum number of meetings? NO, 74%

If so, how many? 50-130 hours; 12-25 meetings

# <u>Total</u> amount your program granted for apprenticeships in most recent fiscal year:

less than \$10,000	17%
\$10,000-14,999	14%
\$15,000-19,999	17%
\$20,000-24,999	20%
\$25,000-29,999	14%
\$30,000-34,999	11%
\$35,000+	6%

## Is your program currently supported by:

NEA FOIK & Traditional	Arts Program
plus state funds	86%
State or local funds	9%
Other	6%

# ADMINISTRATION, SELECTION, EVALUATION

# What percentage of a staff person's time is spent coordinating the apprenticeship program?

80-100% time	6%
50-79% time	17%
30-49% time	43%
less than 30% time	31%
varies, depends	
on year	3%

# Has the program targeted for participation any:

special populations (e.g.,
Native Americans, refugees) 35%
cities, counties or regions 15%
art forms (e.g., basketmaking, fiddling) 21%
percentages of programs that have targeted each of
these

### What are your most effective forms of outreach?

media press releases/advertising	46%
specialized mailings	43%
fieldwork/personal visits	91%
orientation meetings/workshops	29%
publications/events	40%
other: word of mouth	20%
tages of programs that ranked these as o	ne of

percentages of programs that ranked these as one of their top 3

## Size of selection panel: N=34

3 or less	9%
3-5 members	47%
6-8 members	32%
9-12 members	12%

## Panel generally includes:

cultural specialists	100%
folk artists	74%
arts administrators	60%
out-of-state members	54%

### IMPACT

How central is the apprenticeship program to your folk/traditional arts programming? N = 34

> 37% essential, centerpiece of operations

> 47% among 3 most important projects/programs

9% among 5 or more most important projects/programs

6% other: "all programs of equal importance"

## Since its founding, has your apprenticeship program's value generally: N=32

53% increased a great deal for artists, communities, and sponsor agency

34% increased somewhat

9% stayed about the same, but still valuable

3% lessened somewhat

## What kinds of recognition have participants received during/after apprenticeships? N=34

97% media coverage

76% honors within community

62% state honors or awards

50% national honors or awards:

(41% National Heritage Fellowship)

97% invitations to present work publically in exhibition, performance, workshop

79% apprentices' elevation to master status

## How important do you think the apprenticeship was in prompting such recognition?

54% essential

34% somewhat influential, gave exposure

6% artists would have been honored anyway

### 6% depends on artists

Please list 2 notable specific examples of recognition for your program participants:

see Impact on Artists: Recognition

## What kinds of spin-off events or programs have resulted from the apprenticeships?

77% festival participation

74% performances

83% exhibits/demonstrations

57% public workshops/classes

60% artists-in-education projects

54% directories/rosters/referrals

57% publications

51% media documentaries

49% state/local awards programs

Please list 2 notable specific examples of spin-offs:

> see Impact on Folk Arts Programs and Sponsor Agencies

## How have the apprenticeships made a difference for individuals and communities?

91% enhanced cultural pride and identity

85% raised awareness of folk arts

83% brought significant new recognition to artists

74% stimulated broader interest in learning a traditional art

77% revived or helped preserve a particularly endangered traditional art

91% passed on tradition to younger generation

83% enhanced existing learning process within a family or community

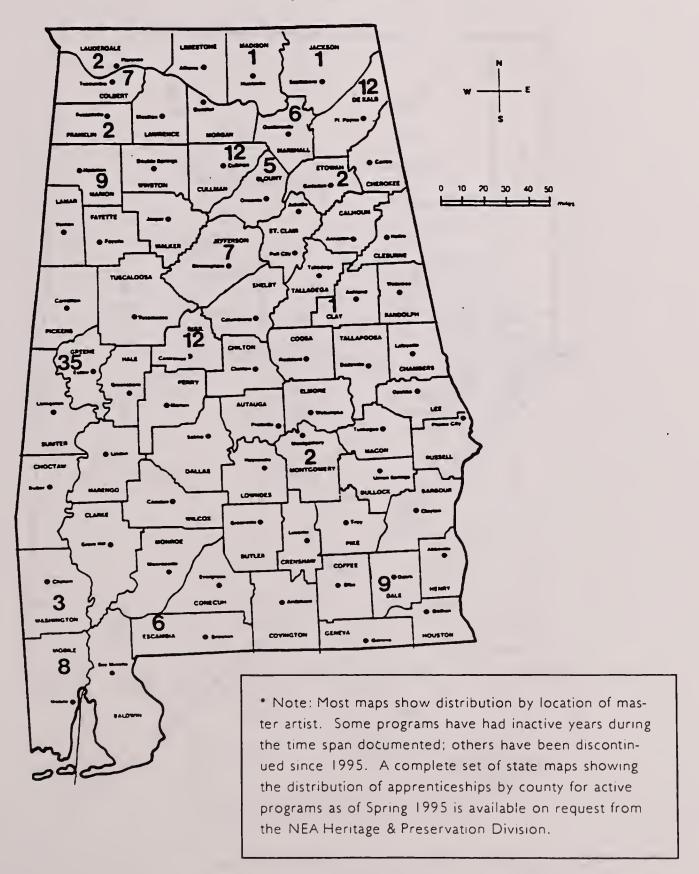
71% led to the development of more master artists

see Impact on Artists, Impact on Art Forms and Communities

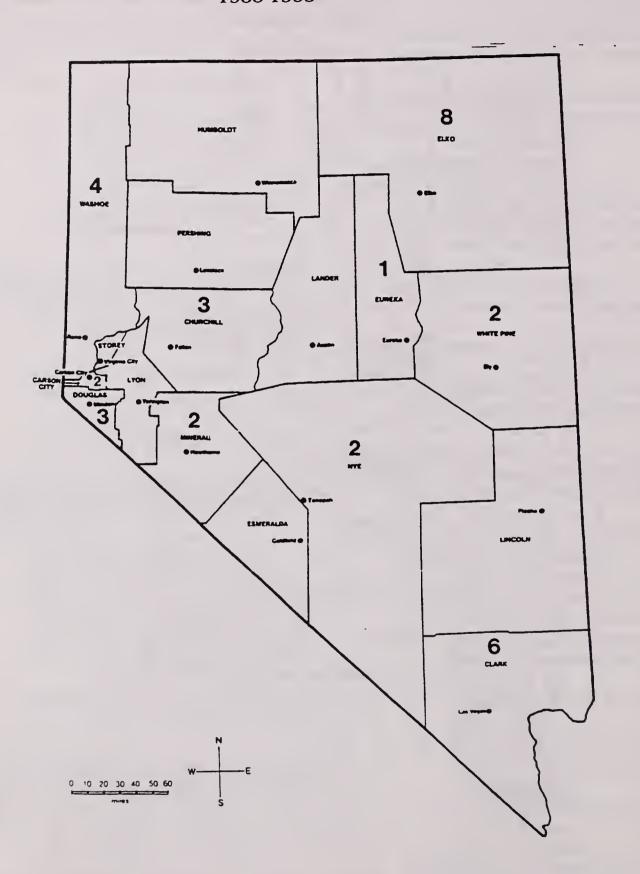
# Appendix C

SAMPLE STATE MAPS\*

Alabama: Distribution of Apprenticeships by County, 1985-1995



Nevada: Distribution of Apprenticeships by County, 1988-1995\*



<sup>\*</sup>Note: An additional six apprenticeships involved artists from out of state.

